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ABSTRACT

The influence of descriptions of students' race and social behavior on teacher recommendations for referral to special education services was investigated. Two hundred and seventy-five Michigan secondary teachers responded to a survey in which they evaluated a fictitious student cumulative record folder for a 12-year-old seventh-grade male. Information differed only in racial image (as indicated by a label of Black or White, or by a photograph) and in written descriptions of social behavior. Teachers were asked to make recommendations regarding the need for special education services and to predict future reading levels and social adjustment. Among reported results were the following: (1) teachers tended to recommend equally both Black and White students for special services regardless of whether or not there was a stated behavior problem; (2) there was a relationship between predicted social adjustment and predicted reading ability, regardless of the race of the student; and (3) teachers referred students with ethnic backgrounds identical to their own less frequently than they did youngsters of other ethnic backgrounds. It was recommended that future research of a similar nature incorporate videotapes of student behaviors. (JW)

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The Influence of Race and Social Behavior on Teacher Recommendation for Special Education Services

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the relationship of race and social behavior on teacher recommendations for referral to special educational services. A total of 600 secondary teachers were randomly selected from Core Metropolitan school districts across Michigan. Respondents were chosen to represent Black, White, Male and Female teachers and were randomly assigned a fictitious stimulus student cumulative record folder. Each stimulus record contained a teacher's hand written behavioral description, achievement and aptitude test scores, S.E.S. information and differed only by racial images (Black, White, Brown) and social behavior. The students were 12 year old boys, promoted to the seventh grade with names that do not clearly suggest a particular racial or ethnic group. Respondents completed the short questionnaire asking them to make recommendations regarding the need for specific educational services and predicting future reading levels and behavioral adjustments based on information contained in the simulated cumulative record folder. Results indicated (1) little evidence for difference in referral recommendations by the students ethnic background, (b) Black teachers and White teachers differed slightly in recommendation of students based on different social behaviors, (c) that teachers responded to the stimulus folder by recommending referral of students whose ethnic background was identical to their own less frequently than they did youngsters of other ethnic backgrounds.

INTRODUCTION

The field of special education has served as a catalyst in helping normalize children and helping them fulfill the education goals of developing them to their greatest potential. The goals are not always realized and in many cases contradicted. The passage of Public Law 88-168 and the creation of a separate division within the U.S. Office of Education to support personnel development and research activities in special education were all positive endeavors. The recent enactment of the "All handicapping law" (PL-94-142) further insured that greater attention be paid to the plight of the handicapped. Educators dedicated to working with the handicapped saw these as positive milestones in an era of special education. With all the positive attributes of Federal Legislation and the "good intention of special educators many minority children appear to be ill served by common special education practices." Minority children are referred more frequently for special education services and evaluation procedures and are suspect by minority parents who realize the negative effects of educational labeling and offtimes exclusion from peers. Litigation has been brought to remediate the practice of over-representation in special classes by minorities. District after district report minority over-representation in special education classes with little attention to anything beyond the reporting of the census.

As this practice continues minority children react by dropping out of school, truancy, destructive behavior and social alienation. Frustration, depression and hostility are descriptive of the behavior exhibited by this population. Teacher personnel further complicate this matter by stereotyping minority children as non-learners and uninterested in academic pursuits.

The purpose of this study was to investigate select student variables (racial image and social behavior) in regard to how they influence teacher judgment regarding the types of education services needed by low achieving students. Teachers were asked to review and evaluate fictitious folders in which the student racial image and social behaviors have been altered systematically. After the evaluation teachers were asked to make recommendations regarding the student's need for special services and to predict the student's reading level after 3 years.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Many investigators have reported findings indicating that minority students tended to be over-represented in special education programs (Tucker, 1980; Burke, 1975; Prillaman, 1975). A number of researchers have investigated the role of teachers in the referral process in an attempt to explain this over-enrollment. These investigators, using fictitious case summarizes as experimental stimuli, attempted to determine the effects of a number of variables on teachers' recommendation for special education placement. Among the variables studied were the sex and race of student, teacher comments, socio-economic status, parent level of education, student academic performance and social behavior and teachers' race.

Giesbrecht and Routh (1979) investigated the effects of previous teacher comments, race of student and educational level of parent on referral for special services. Using Black and White teachers of both sexes as their sample, they concluded that adverse teacher comments in a student folder related significantly to that student being referred for special services, regardless of parents' race or educational level. On the other hand, the lack of teacher comment coupled with low parent educational level was also seen as negative and related significantly to special services recommendations for the student in question. An additional significant interaction between parent educational level and race was also reported: Black children were more like than Whites to be referred for special services if their parents were not well educated. That same study also concluded that teachers expected more progress in reading from Black than from White children, and from children with poorly educated parents than from those of well educated parents.

In a similar study two other investigators sought to determine the influence of socio-economic status (S.E.S.) and race on placement decisions. Using classroom teachers and school psychologists as subjects (Matuszek and Oakland, 1979) found that S.E.S. and race were not significantly related to placement. Their findings suggested that teachers used class achievement, test and I.Q. scores, home related anxiety, self concept and adaptive behavior in making placement decision. These conclusions led the authors to suggest that placement of minority students in special programs may be due to observable classroom behaviors that are (differentially) related to race and not to any overt bias against minority students. In other words, Black students tend to engage in behaviors that are perceived by the teachers as necessitating specialized behavior management strategies. The main weakness in this argument is that it implies that teachers are able to separate the behavior from its (agent) and to view it objectively. This means that a given behavior is likely to elicit the same type of responses from teachers regardless of the race or any other characteristic of the student who initiated the behavior. This is contrary to the findings of Mehan, Hertweck, Combs, and Flynn (1981). These researchers reported that after viewing video replays of their classroom activities, teachers were unable to identify the behaviors they used earlier as the basis for recommending students for special education placement. A given behavior may be used as a reason for referral for one student but not for another. Teachers tend to evaluate behavior based on their own cultural backgrounds (Pernell, 1983) and race is an aspect of that evaluation. Obviously there are other mitigating factors that tend to attentuate or exacerbate the impact of the behavior on the teachers response. This situation led Mehan and her colleagues (1981) to contend

that "the reasons for referral are not to be found exclusively in the behavior of the students referred" (p. 25). They assert teacher's decision only partially based on the student's behavior. It is agreed that the decision is based on "the categories that the teacher brings to the interaction, including the expectations for academic performance, and norms for appropriate classroom conduct" (p. 23). Clearly then to explain the referral and presence of disproportionate numbers of Black students in terms of their behavior is to engage in superficial reasoning. While teachers may not be biased against Black students, professional preparation has not prepared them to value, understand, accept and adequately teach students who do not typify the majority culture. This lack of adequate preparation alone may cause them to behave in ways that eventually result in bias against Black students in general and Black males in particular. The authors, based upon more than 20 years of classroom and field experience, support the view that many teachers treat the Black child as a marginal individual: one who often deviates from the general configuration of a good, well-behaved, and honest student.

An investigation of the relationship between race of student, ethnicity of teachers and the combination of the first two factors and referral for special education revealed findings that partly supported the previously discussed studies (Tobias, Cole, Zibrin and Bodlakova, 1982). In this study the race of student while significant, was not a significant factor in the referral process as was the race of the teacher. Teachers of Hispanic background tended not to opt for referral while White teachers were more apt to refer students. Majority of the teachers in this study referred students five times were often than did

minority teachers and tended to refer children of a different race than themselves. There was a significant interaction between teacher and student ethnic background. Teachers tended to refer students whose ethnic background differed from their own more frequently. This finding provides further support for the existence of culturally based mitigating factors in the referral process. Tobias and his colleagues (1982) support this assertion. They state:

> Children from minority ethnic backgrounds may, as a result of poverty and/or values prevalent in their ethnic group, experience greater difficulties in schools oriented to middle class values than majority youngsters. Furthermore teachers may be unfamiliar with the values of the minority group, and hence regard behavior that is quite appropriate within the minority culture as being inappropriate.

Kaufman, Swan and Wood (1980) appear to provide further support for this view. They found that teachers and parents were less likely to agree in their perceptions of emotionally disturbed behaviors in Black children. When these same people were asked to evaluate White children's behavior for emotional disturbance a higher degree of agreement was observed. It appears that when the person whose behavior was being labeled was the same race as the raters the presence of agreement was greater.

Contrary to the research discussed earlier in which race of student was not significantly related to special services recommendations, there is evidence in the literature of a significant relationship between the former and the latter (Prieto and Zucker, 1980; Zucker, Prieto and Rutherford, 1979; Zucker and Prieto, 1978). Over a series of three studies involving regular and special education teachers, it was found that Mexican-American children were more often recommended for special education placement than were White children. In addition, Mexican-American children were more often perceived as mentally retarded than were their White counterparts.

Prieto and Zucker (1980) argued that teachers had strong expectations that tended to override all other information in the case studies used as experimental stimulus in their studies. This situation led them to question some basic principles of the expectation theory. They argued that while:

> It is generally agreed that teacher expectations are ubiquitous and usually are the result of student behavior rather than the cause and that the ultimate affect of expectations depends on their accuracy and flexibility. It should be noted, however, that evidence is rapidly accumulating which indicates that on certain factors, one of which is race, expectations may not be accurate or flexible. (Prieto and Zucker, 1980, p. 36).

If the case can be made that teachers of minority students are biased in their planning then the plight of these students becomes more crucial and their academic performance along with their social and emotional growth will continue to decline and they will continue to be "cannon fodder" for special classes. Brophy (1982) indicated that reviews of the research on self-fulfilling prophesy and teacher expectations concur on three points: 1) teacher expectations can function as self-fulfilling prophesy; 2) the evidence for the self-fulfilling prophesy effect on student achievement in the classroom is tenuous and equivocal; and 3) the extent to which teacher expectations function as self-fulfilling prophesy in the regular classrooms is limited, averaging approximately a 5-10% effect In view of the findings (Zucker, Prieto and Rutherford, 1979; Zucker and Prieto, 1978; and Prieto and Zucker, 1980), it is not unlikely for teacher expectations to account for more than 5-10% of the achievement of Mexican-American children, and of other non-majority students. Clark (1965) has long identified low teacher expectations as one of the variables responsible for low achievement of children attending ghetto schools. Clearly then teacher expectations regarding culturally and racially different children may

have deleterious consequencies for their achievement. Conversely their effects on White children, because of corrective feedback mechanisms built into the teacher-student interaction, allows teachers to correct and adjust their expectations as new information is obtained by the student behavior (Jackson and Cosca, 1974).

Among the factors that affect teacher expectations is labeling. This factor has been found to have a negative effect on teacher expectation when the label connotes deviance from the accepted norms, both in-school achievement or pro-social behaviors. The relationship between label and expectations appears to be reciprocatingly reinforcing. On a relatively simple level, the label contributes to the formation of expectations, which translates into behaviors that contribute to the maintenance of the label. Black males are perceived to be more motorically expressive by White teachers so each behavior by the student reinforces this belief.

Ysseldyke and Foster (1978) found that teachers responded differentially to labels (learning disabled, emotionally disturbed, and normal) when placing students. Teachers rated the behavior of a Caucasian boy more favorably when it was presented under the label normal than under any of the other labels. The results of findings by Yoshida and Meyers (1975) contradicted this study. They found that teacher's expectations of future performance was not significantly related to the label assigned to the child and suggested that teacher expectations may be based on personal observations.

Student's facial attractiveness has been hypothesized as a factor that relates to teacher expectation. Ross and Salvia (1975) investigated the impact of facial attractiveness on teachers recommendations for special class placement and teacher expectation of future school related

behaviors. A significant main effect for attractiveness was observed. Unattractive youngsters were more often recommended for special class placement, were expected to have poorer results on future psychological evaluation, and to experience more peer and academic difficulties than attractive children. The findings reported by Salvia, Algozzine and Sheare (1977) corroborated these results. Attractive students obtained significantly higher grades than unattractive ones.

One investigator studied the influences of skin color on teachers judgements (Smith, 1976). Four levels of skin color employed, White, Yellow, Brown and Black. It is reported that skin color appeared more important than reading and classroom behaviors for teachers' opinion of student future achievements. Caucasian and Yellow tone individuals were thought more likely to become professionals. There was no difference between White and Black teachers with respect to judgements about the student's future social role. Caucasian students were perceived to have fewer social adjustments and adaptation problems than Black students. Smith argued that teachers' opinions were not a function of teachers' race or prejudicial attitudes toward skin color but reflected the poorer school adjustment and adaptation displayed by darker shaded students. This view is in agreement with those expressed by Matuzek and Oakland (1979).

Race as a factor influencing teacher recommendations for special education placement for non-majority students appears in general and Blacks in particular to have unequivocal empirical support. In studies which the findings did not clearly suggest race as a significant factor in teacher referral the trend of referring students dissimilar from one's own background was evident. Teachers tend to recommend special placement for students of ethnic backgrounds different from their own (Tobias et.

al, 1982). There is not enough clear concensus that special recommendations placement for Black male children is indicative of teacher bias or prejudice against them, however, the data shows that Black males are referred and placed in special education in disproportionate numbers. It may be argued that special education placement probably reflected a greater tendency in Black male children to engage in behaviors that are not acceptable in the classrom, when compared to White children. These suggestions, however, appear to be based on tenuous grounds. Some investigators concluded that teacher's perception of a given behavior as necessitating or not requiring referral depend on the student's and the teacher's expectations for academic performance and the norms for acceptable classroom behavior. Teachers may rely on an unfavorable stereotype about a student's race when reacting to the student's behavior. Teachers' recommendations are based on their perception of student performance and since behavior is perceived in a given social context, it is not improbable that other elements in that context would contribute to the shaping of what is perceived by the teacher. This relativeness and selectiveness of teacher perception has led to the argument of a cultural bias against non-majority culture children by teachers. Although there seems to be sufficient theoretical support for this view, empirical investigations are lacking with regard to Black children. This, however, may not be due to the non-existance of a cultural bias against Black children, but rather to the weaknessess inherent in the designs of the studies that attempted to investigate this phenomenon.

There is, however, unequivocal support that race is a critical factor in teacher's recommendations for Mexican-American children. The result of a series of three studies provided empirical support for this hypothesis. These investigations concluded that strong stereotypic

expectations associated with race undermine teacher perception of the performance and behavior of Mexican-American children. Moreover, they also pointed out that there was reason for concern since the referral process led to the assignment of a label to the referred student. Labels have been found to have a negative effect on teacher expectations of students and on the students themselves.

Clearly then, additional research into the factors affecting teachers perception of Black male student behavior is needed. Answers are needed to the following questions: Is race associated with special referral for Black male students? Under what circumstances is it significant? In combination with what teacher and student characteristics is it likely to be a factor? Previous investigations into the impact of skin color on teacher judgements and the influence of attractiveness on teacher expectations have identified new factors that may help in the design of a comprehensive study of the role of race in the special education referral of Black male children.

Educators have a stake in the development of better selection criteria for truly handicapped children, but the issue appears to be answering the question "Who are the handicapped?" and are recommendations clearly based on handicapping behavior or perception.

METHOD

This investigation was conducted through a survey mailed to 600 secondary teachers in Michigan. These teachers are employed in intermediate size middle schools located in Michigan metropolitan core cities as designated by the Michigan Department of Education (MDE). These metropolitan Core School Districts are characterized by confirmed disproportionate enrollment of minority in special education programs. The participants were selected randomly from MDE Registers of Professional Personnel. Black and White male and female teachers were part of the investigation. Two hundred and seventy-five of those sampled responded with completed data (46%). If a response had not been received within three weeks of the initial mailing, a card asking for a reply was sent to those teachers who had not responded. Those subjects who did not respond were demographically similar to those responding. This was concluded after re-examining the master data sheet containing the initial mailing list.

Instruments and Data Collection

A fictitious student cumulative record folder similar to the type used in Michigan's middle schools, and a questionnaire served as the major data gathering instruments. The children described in the folder were 12 year old, seventh grade boys whose profile reflected obvious differences on the two independent variables of race and social behavior. Additional information contained in the folder were standardized test scores covering the 4th, 5th, and 6th grades, to document the fictitious students' achievement and aptitude test scores, and a set of hand-written teacher comments describing the students' social behavior.

A pilot study using students in a teacher-education program and the results was used to select the photographs and design the folders. One objective was to select compatible racial images in terms of attractiveness and family names that did not clearly support a particular racial/ethnic group.

Race and social behavior were the independent variables in this study. A "Stimulus" Cumulative folder identified a student's race either by a label of White or Black or by an attached photograph. There were four types of photographs; dark Black male, medium Black male, light-Black male, or White male. Each student's social behavior was conveyed through the use of handwritten statements, signed by a teacher. The specific category of social behavior used represented patterns of behavior which indicate a disregard for authority. The folders recorded identified information relative to the intelligence and achievement test scores (all showing low achievement levels), extracurricular activities and parents' educational level.

The dependent variables were the teachers' recommendations for educational service and their predictions regarding future academic performance of these students. It should be remembered that the folders contain the same information except for variation in the students' race and social behavior.

Procedure

Each selected teacher received a fictitious cumulative folder distributed on a random basis. Teachers were asked to read the record and render a judgment as to the students' need for special education services including the need for staff help and curriculum materials. Teachers were also asked to predict the future reading level and social

adjustments for the student. When the teachers concluded the task they were requested to return the stimulus folder and questionnaire to the investigator. A card requesting a response was mailed to those teachers who had not responded within the one week established due date for submission.

Description of the Sample

The original sample included 600 secondary teachers in Michigan. A total of 275 (46%) returned completed surveys which could be analyzed. The sexual breakdown of the responding teachers was almost equal with 127 (47%) males and 142 (53%) females.

Table 1 provides distribution of areas of specialization of the responding teachers. The model area was middle school with 45% of the group.

TABLE 1: Distribution of Area of Specialization of Project Teachers

Area	Number	Percent
Elementary	17	7
Secondary	46	18
Reading	17	7
Middle School	118	45
Counselor	22	8
Vocational	11	4
Mentally Impaired	14	5
Emotionally Disturbed	9	3
Vision Impaired	1	0.4
Health Impaired	2	0.8
Elementary Endorsement	1	0.4
Secondary Endorsement	2	0.8

N = 260

Teachers were asked on the survey to indicate their ethnic origin. Table 2 contains this distribution. A review of this table reveals that the majority of teachers were Caucasian (55%) followed by Black (36%).

TABLE 2: Ethnic Origin of Participating Teachers

Origin	Number	Percent
Caucasian	146	55
Black	93	36
Native American	18	7
Other	5	2

Teachers were next asked to indicate how many years of college training they had received. These data are summarized in Table 3. As can be seen from this table there was considerable variation from one through eight year of college training. The vast majority of teachers, however, (92%) had at least five years training at the college level.

TABLE 3: College Education of Participating Teachers

Number of Years of College	Number	Percent
1	1	.4
2	2	.8
3	1	.4
4	16	6
5	59	22
6	112	42
7	42	16
8	33	12

Teachers were then requested to specify how many years of teaching experience they had completed. These results are contained in Table 4. It was found that almost half (43%) of the responding teachers had at least 16 years of teaching experience.

TABLE 4: Teaching Experience of Participating Teachers

Years	Number	Percent
1-5	18	7
6-10	56	21
11-15	78	29
16 or more	116	43

To obtain an indication of the type of teacher who was completing the survey, respondents were asked to indicate the subject area they most often taught. The distribution for subjects taught is contained in Table 5. The data presented in Table 5 reveals that the most often taught subjects included English and Mathematics which accounted for 48% of the responding teachers.

TABLE 5: Subject Taught Most Often by the Participating Teachers

Subject	Number	Percent
Art	10	5
English	53	25
Geography	6	3
History	23	11
Homemaking	8	4
Industrial Arts	10	5
Math	47	23
Music	9	4
Physical Education	16	8
Science	13	6
Other	14	6

Finally, teachers were asked to indicate the grade level in which they taught. The grades ranged from fifth through tenth grades. A summary of the responses to this item is contained in Table 6. In reviewing this table it was found that 67% of the teachers taught grades seven or eight with only 14% teaching below seventh grade, the year to which the case studies was geared.

TABLE 6: Grade Level Taught by the Participating Teachers

Grade	Number	Percent
5th	3	1
6th	30	13
7th	70	31
8th	81	36
9th	26	12
10th	2	1
Other	13	6

RESULTS

To explore the issue of teachers' perception of students' needs for special services, as the function of students' race and behavior, a series of descriptive analyses were conducted. A separate analysis was conducted for each of the major areas:

1. Perceived need for special services
2. Highest reading level each student is likely to attain, assuming he received the recommended services
3. Student's social adjustment level
4. Factors influencing student's academic performance
5. Factors influencing student's social adjustment

The responding teachers rated each student's perceived need for special services on a five point scale using the verbal anchors of "Extremely likely" and "Extremely unlikely" with ratings of 1 to 5 respectively.

Race and Problem Behavior

Table 7 depicts the mean item ratings and standard deviations separately for students whose folders indicated an aggressive, manipulative or no apparent behavioral problem, those students whose race was identified with a photo. As mentioned earlier, the photos were divided into White, light Black, medium Black and dark Black males. The means clustered around the midpoint of the scale (3), regardless of students' race and the presence or absence of troublesome behavior. Generally it was found that White students with behavior problems were more likely to be viewed as needing special services than White counterparts. However, on the average, light Blacks displaying aggressive behavior were perceived as slightly more likely in need of special services (mean = 2.9) than their white (mean = 3.1) or black counterparts (mean = 3.4). Also, it is interesting to note that for student profiles that did not display any troublesome behavior, Black students were more often expected to need special services than were the White students.

TABLE 7: Means and Standard Deviations for Perceived Need for Special Services Scale, for the Photography Profile Group

Photo Profile	Problem Behavior: Aggressive Mean	Aggressive S.D.	Manipulative Mean	Manipulative S.D.	None Mean	None S.D.
White	3.1	1.1	3.3	1.0	3.6	1.2
Light Black	2.9	1.1	3.5	.9	3.4	1.3
Medium Black	3.4	1.1	3.5	.8	3.1	.9
Dark Black	3.4	.8	3.4	1.0	3.4	.9

A similar analysis was conducted for students whose race was provided via labels instead of photos. However, for the label group designations were dichotomized into White and Black with no Black qualifiers. The means and standard deviations are provided in Table 8. The data in Table 8 reveal that when a student's profile included a racial label as opposed to a photograph, Black students with manipulative behavior problems or no behavior problems were less likely to be designated for special education help than were the White students. However, among students displaying aggressive behavior, Black students were more likely to be designated for special education help. It is interesting to note that when comparing the results in Tables 7 and 8 the transposition of need for students with no behavior problems was attributable to a major change in Black students' means with the White students' mean remaining constant.

TABLE 8: Means and Standard Deviations for Perceived Need for Special Services Scale, for the Label Profile Group

Label Profile	Behavior					
	Aggressive		Manipulative		None	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
White	3.4	.9	3.1	1.3	3.6	.8
Black	3.2	1.2	3.7	.7	3.8	.9

Assuming that their recommendations were to be acted upon, teachers were asked to predict each student's reading level, relative to other 7th grade students. Table 9 includes the distribution of the mean predicted reading ability, relative to students' race and behavior type, for the photo profile group. In reviewing the data presented in Table 9, it was found that for students with or without a behavioral problem Black students were predicted to attain higher reading levels than White students. The greatest level of discrepancy was found for students with manipulative behavior where White students were predicted on average to attain a reading level of 6.7 and Black students were predicted to attain a reading level of 8.1. The least discrepancy was found for students with aggressive behavior where the difference between the White and Black means was .3.

TABLE 9: Means and Standard Deviations of the Predicted Reading Ability, For the Photo Profile Group

Photo Profile	Behavior					
	Aggressive		Manipulative		None	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
White	7.4	1.1	6.7	1.8	7.1	2.5
Light Black	7.7	.9	8.1	.9	7.6	.9
Medium Black	7.7	.9	7.1	1.7	7.8	1.2
Dark Black	7.7	1.3	7.6	.9	8.0	1.1

Table 10 provides a similar distribution of means and standard deviations for students with their race provided via a label. A review of this table reveals that generally Black students were predicted to read at a higher level than White students. The exception to this being for students with manipulative behavior problems where White students were predicted to do slightly better than Black students in reading.

TABLE 10: Distribution of the Predicted Mean Reading Ability, Relative to Student's Race and Behavior Type, for the Label Profile Group

Label Profile	Behavior					
	Aggressive		Manipulative		None	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
White	7.2	1.6	7.6	1.0	7.5	1.5
Black	7.6	.9	7.4	1.2	8.0	.9

When comparing the results in Tables 9 and 10 it is apparent that teachers believe that if their recommendations are followed and special assistance is available, the reading level of Black students will surpass that of White students.

Assuming that their recommendation were to be acted upon, teachers were asked to predict the student's social adjustment level, relative to other 7th grade students. Teachers responded on a 5 point scale from "very poorly adjusted" to "very well adjusted." Table 11 includes the distribution means and standard deviations for predicted social adjustment level, relative to student's race and behavior, for the photo profile group.

Looking at Table 11 it appears that there is no clear pattern. However, in the case of manipulative behavior problems and no behavior problems, White students and light Black students are considered equal. However, for aggressive behavior a wide discrepancy is found between Black and White students.

TABLE 11: Means and Standard Deviations of the Predicted Social Adjustment Level, for the Photo Profile Group

Photo Profile	Behavior					
	Aggressive		Manipulative		None	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
White	3.1	.6	3.2	.7	3.5	.9
Light Black	2.7	.5	3.2	.5	3.5	.6
Medium Black	2.8	.8	3.5	.7	3.0	.5
Dark Black	3.0	.7	3.5	.7	3.6	.5

Table 12 provides the means and standard deviations for predicted social adjustment relative to students race and behavior for the labeled profile group. For students with no behavior problems social adjustment is considered equal; for Black and White students with aggressive behavior there is a very slight difference with Black students being considered as less well socially adjusted and better socially adjusted for manipulative behavior problems.

TABLE 12: Distribution of the Predicted Mean Social Adjustment Level, Relative to Student's Race and Behavior Type, for the Label Profile Group

Label Profile	Behavior					
	Aggressive		Manipulative		None	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
White	3.1	.5	2.9	.7	3.4	.8
Black	3.0	.6	3.4	.5	3.4	.7

In order to discover if a teacher's perception of a student's needs for special services has any relationship to students predicted reading level and social adjustment level a series of Pearson Product Moment Correlations were computed. Table 13 includes these coefficients with their level of significance. Of the six reported coefficients in Table 13, three are statistically significant. It appears that there is a relationship between the need for special services where race is identified by photo and the predicted social adjustment level of the student. There was also a significant relationship between predicted reading level and predicted social adjustment regardless of photo or label identifiers for student race.

TABLE 13: Correlations of Need for Special Services, Predicted Reading Ability and Predicted Social Adjustment

	Predicted Reading Ability				Predicted Social Adjustment			
	Photo		Label		Phbto		Label	
	rxy	p	rxy	p	rxy	p	rxv	p
Need for Special Services: Photo	.00	.47	---	---	.27	.00	---	---
Need for Special Services: Label	---	---	.04	.35	---	---	.11	.23
Predicted Reading Ability: Photo	---	---	---	---	.16	.01	---	---
Predicted Reading Ability: Label	---	---	---	---	---	---	.20	.01

In viewing these corelations, however, the absolute values of the correlations should be considered. While the three aforementioned coefficients were statistically significant, the absolute values of the correlations were relatively low with the highest being .27 for the relationship between a need for special services and predicted social adjustment.

The interaction of student race, behavior, and the evaluating teacher's race, was explored for three dependent variables simultaneously, using the technique of MANOVA (Multivariate Analysis of Variance). Table 14 presents the MANOVA Summary. Apparently, the ineraction between Student Race, Student Behavior and Teacher Race, was significant only for the predicted Reading Level of the student. As the three-way interaction is significant, we cannot explore any further, because the main effects of Race, Behavior, and Teacher Race are not independent of each other.

TABLE 14: The Effect of a 3-Way Interaction of Student Race, Student Behavior and Teacher Race, Upon the Means of 3 Dependent Measures

Overall F = 2.27 with df = 6,162

$p \leq .04$

Source	Dependent Variables	MS	EMS	F	$p \leq$
Student Race	1. Perceived need for special services	1.88	.96	1.95	.15
Student Behavior	2. Predicted Reading	3.73	1.16	3.20	.04*
Teacher Race	3. Predicted Social Adjustment	.38	.40	.95	.38

*Significant at $p \leq .05$

Using Analysis of Variance, the responses of White and Black teachers were compared. It was found that Black teachers predicted a higher level of reading ability and social adjustment for a student, regardless of the student's race or behavior, These results are summarized in Table 15.

TABLE 15: The Effect of Teachers' Race on the Prediction of Students' Reading Ability

Source	MS	df	F	P ≤
Teacher Race	10.5	1	6.05	.01*
Error	1.7	155		

Significant at p ≤.05

Table 16 indicates a significant difference between Black and White teachers relative to their predictions of Social Adjustment.

TABLE 16: Teachers' Race Effect on the Prediction of Students' Social Adjustment

Source	MS	df	F	P ≤
Teacher Race	4.7	1	11.9	.0007*
Error	.39	158		

*Significant at p ≤.05

The interaction of Student Race, Behavior, and the Evaluating Teacher's Race was explored for three dependent variables simultaneously, using the technique of MANOVA. As the three interaction effects were not significant, it was possible to explore the main effects of Race and Behavior. Table 17 indicates that a significant difference existed in the predicted Social Adjustment level for students with and without behavioral problems. There was no significant effect for predicted reading level or need for special services.

TABLE 17: The Effect of Behavioral Problems Upon the Means of 3 Dependent Measures

Overall F = 3.21 with df = 3.126

$p \leq .02$

Source	Dependent Variables	MS	EMS	F	$p \leq$
Presence-Absence of Behavior Problems	1. Perceived need for special services	.51	1.16	.44	.50
	2. Predicted Reading Level	.82	1.76	.46	.49
	3. Predicted Social Adjustment	3.54	.36	9.75	.002*

*Significant at $p \leq .05$

Students with behavior either manipulative or aggressive problems were compared using a multi-variate analysis of variance. The results revealed that for predicted social adjustment there was a significant difference whereas for reading level and need for special services there were no significant differences. Comparing the means revealed that students who express aggressive behavior as opposed to manipulative behavior obtained lower predictions of social adjustment from their teachers. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 18.

TABLE 18: A Comparison of Manipulative and Aggressive Behavior Upon Three Dependent Measures

Overall F = 4.97 with df = 3,126

$p \leq .002$

Source	Dependent Variables	MS	EMS	F	p≤
Behavior Manipulative vs Aggressive	1. Need for special services	1.17	1.16	1.0	.31
	2. Predicted Reading Level	1.82	1.76	1.0	.31
	3. Predicted Social Adjustment	4.50	.36	12.3	.0006*

* Significnat at $p \leq .05$

The effects of student race upon the three dependent measures of need for special services, predicted reading level and predicted social adjustment level were tested using a multi-variate analysis of variance. The results of this analysis are provided in Table 19. In reviewing this table it was found that for predicted reading level there was a significant difference, however, for need for special services and predicted social adjustment level there were no significant differences. Based on the means attained, it was found that White students were predicted to achieve a higher reading level than Black students.

TABLE 19: Differences Between the White and all the Black Students in Their Needs, Reading Level, and Social Adjustment Level, as Predicted by their Teachers

Overall F = 2.78 with df = 3,126

$p \leq .04$

Source	Dependent Variables	MS	EMS	F	$p \leq$
Student Race	1. Need for special services	.00	1.16	.00	.96
	2. Predicted Reading Level	10.23	1.76	5.81	.01*
	3. Predicted Social Adjustment Level	.46	.36	1.28	.26

*Significant at $p \leq .05$

In order to assess the actual proportion of teachers recommending specific types of professional help and materials, to students of various races and behavior profiles, a series of chi square analysis was performed. A summary of the results follows:

For students in the Lable Profile Group with no behavior problems, a significantly higher than predicted percent of teachers (67%) recommended 1 hour of special education class for White students, as opposed to Black students (33%), with $x = 7.7$ at $p \leq .02$.

For students in the Photo Profile Group exhibiting Aggressive behavior a significantly higher than predicted percent of teachers, tended to recommend special classes for White and light Black students, as opposed to regular classrooms for dark Black students, with $x = 16.0$ at $p \leq .06$.

In addition to their recommendations of special services and professional help, the participating teachers were requested to rate the relative importance of seven factors which could conceivably influence student's academic performance. Using the above seven factors as dependent measures, it was shown that Black teachers as opposed to White teachers, perceived the Student's Ability level as most important to his academic performance ($F = 5.00$ with $df = 7,151$, at $p \leq .000$).

When asked to rate the relative importance of seven factors that could influence student's social adjustment in school using the social adjustment factors as dependent measures, Black teachers as opposed to White teachers, viewed the student's Ability level as most important to his Social Adjustment in school, ($F = 2.34$ with $df = 7,147$, at $p \leq .027$).

DISCUSSION

The results of this investigation indicated that teachers tended to recommend equally both Black and White students for special services regardless of whether or not there was a stated behavior problem, be it aggressive or manipulative. These results tended to remain constant whether or not the race of the student was identified through a profile or through a label. This is consistent with the findings of Mayhem and her colleagues (1981) who contended that the primary reason for referrals was not based exclusively upon the behavior of the students referred. They did, however, assert that teachers' decisions are partially based upon the students' behaviors. The findings of this study differ from those of Tobias, Cole, Sebrian, and Bodlakova (1982) who found that the race of the student was significant in the referral process.

In terms of predicted reading ability teachers rated Black students as having a higher reading ability than White students if they were provided with special assistance. This is consistent with the findings of Giesbrecht and Routh (1979) who found that teachers expected more progress in reading from Black than from White children. They suggest counterstereotyping may explain this reversal.

This investigation also found predicted social behavior to be similar for both Black and White children. Thus, we may conclude that race was not a major factor when teachers predicted social behavior.

Designation of race either through labeling or photos did not drastically change the recommendation of teachers regarding the need for special services, reading level or social level of students. We

may conclude that if teachers use race as a determining factor, they receive their information with the same level of impact regardless of how race is conveyed. If one argues that there is a disproportionate number of minority students placed in certain special education diagnostic categories, this study suggests that labeling either through photo or printed label does not help to explain the reason for the same. Rather, the difference appears to generate more from teacher observation of the student in the setting. This is consistent with the investigation of Yoshida and Meyers (1975) who found that teachers expectations of future performance was not significantly related to the racial label assigned to the child.

This study found that there is a relationship between predicted social adjustment and predicted reading ability for students regardless of the race of the student. It further concluded that social adjustment and reading predictions are associated equally regardless of the race of the student.

In the analysis of prediction for reading levels and social adjustment this study found a difference in prediction of reading level and social adjustment based upon the race of the teacher. Black teachers predicted a higher level of reading ability and social adjustment for all students regardless of the student's race or behavior. Thus, it appears that the teacher's race rather than the student's race may be a factor in determination of expectations. This is consistent with findings from Tobias, Cole, Sebrian and Bodlakova (1982) where they found that the race of the teacher was a significant factor in the referral process.

While this study did not clearly reveal differences attributable to the race of student, there were limitations which need to be discussed. The first of these is teacher experience which in this study was limited primarily to teachers who had taught for at least 10 years regardless of the field. Less experienced teachers may well consider race differently than more experienced teachers. The second issue relates to the limitation associated with the design of the study which involved having the teacher take information based upon a reading of a student's file with no opportunity for the teacher to observe the student in the classroom or on film. This limitation is consistent with the findings of Yoshida and Meyers (1975) who suggest that teacher expectations are based upon personal observations. Therefore, a recommendation that similar research be conducted which includes teachers with varying levels of teaching experience as a variable as well as observation. This could be accomplished either through a formal observation or the use of video tapes.

This investigation did not reveal an over-referral of minority students. Surveys and studies of minorities in special education programs show evidence of over representation. Perhaps in this study the participants were aware of participation in a university based investigation and tended to make referrals based on data rather than pre-conceived notions of the students. An interpretation of this finding may suggest that teachers have the ability to make appropriate referrals but may not do so unless the condition is conducive to the use of adequate objective data.

If further investigation supports this concept then remedial measures could take the form of a referral team in the school. This team could

be given referral data in which the name, race, and ethnic identified is unknown to make decisions about the student referred. Additionally, inservice sessions could be held at regular intervals where simulated cases are used to raise teachers' sensitivity and help them learn to rely on individualized data opposed to perceptions.

Summary and Recommendation

This investigation sought to study factors motivating teachers to refer children for special services. Much research gives evidence that race and social behavior are influential in the recommendation process. Overall the research did not support these influences. Instead, an analysis of the data revealed: (1) Little evidence for difference in referral recommendations by the student's ethnic background, (2) Black teachers and White teachers differed slightly in recommendation of students based on different social behaviors, (3) That teachers referred students with identical ethnic backgrounds to their own less frequently than they did youngsters of other ethnic backgrounds.

Recommendation

The results of this investiagtion adds little to the reasons minorities are enrolled in behaviorally disordered classes in disproportionate numbers. It does not appear to be teacher prejudice. Perhaps a design of a similar nature using a different method to gather the data should be undertaken. It is recommended that some chance be offered teachers to observe students' behaviors via the video tape.

Finally, behavior data derived from this and similar investigations should be incorporated into teacher education programs.

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